2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

784 avoid stepping over blood; failure to observe these rules would not affect the child
843 but would impair the father's luck in any venture. Restrictions applying to both the woman and her husband included these: A rattlesnake must not be killed or the child would cry and writhe like a rattlesnake. It might turn green and swell up. Crossing an otter's track would result in the child's "crawling" like an otter and taking very long to learn to walk. If a horse were lassooed or any animal tied or roped the child would become entangled with its cord during delivery. Sarcasm or arrogant retort on the part of either parent would result in the child's being ill tempered and impudent. To distort the features would cause the child to have features permanently disarranged in a similar manner. Holding the breath would make the child unable to breathe when born. To beat an animal would cause pain and injury to the child. There was no restriction on smoking.

755 A man took care not to laugh at old or crippled persons while his wife was
843 pregnant for fear the baby would be crippled. He was especially circumspect in his speech when a shaman was near for if he were critical, insulting, boastful or facetious at such a time the baby would probably never be born and the woman would die.

Some shamans were reputed to be able to determine the sex of a child before birth. They charged in advance for giving such information. It was only necessary to look at the woman's back to make the determination.

755 Barren women sometimes enlisted the services of a shaman. This was only
842 done at one of the winter dances. The shaman seated the woman before the center pole, sat down in front of her and held one end of a short section of service berry limb on her head. He soon told her why she was childless and whether or not she would bear children thereafter.

844 The pregnant woman did not isolate herself until the labor pains appeared. She then retired to the menstrual hut or a partitioned off part of the house. An old woman usually accompanied her. The professional mid-wife was unknown. The woman who assisted received no compensation for her services. In preparation for delivery (stukwi'ltx^{w}) two stakes were driven into the ground about eighteen or twenty inches apart and about two feet high. When the labor pains became frequent and severe the woman kneeled on the ground, placing one knee against each stake and grasping the tops of the stakes with her hands. There was no attempt to give relief to the woman during labor. The assistant covered the ground with bunch grass or laid down a tule mat for the child to be delivered upon. When delivery was obviously near at hand she rubbed the woman's abdomen with downward motions, gave her hot water to drink, heated pine needles and held them against her abdoman, and gave her advice as to the proper muscular tensions for the best results. When not otherwise occupied, and during actual delivery, the helper kneeled behind the woman and pulled down on her shoulders. As soon as expulsion was complete the assistant tied the umbilical cord (ti'mus) tightly with deer sinew four or five inches from the baby's body. She then bit it off at that point. Rupture was considered more possible if the cord were cut shorter. The child was immediately immersed in a basket of cool water and rubbed vigorously.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

This stimulation started the child's breathing and the washing cleansed it. The face of the infant was then massaged to "smooth out ugly lines" and improve the features. The legs were rubbed to straighten them so that the child would not be bow-legged. The arms were similarly rubbed. Then the infant was wrapped in buckskin or coyote fur and the head was bound with buckskin to insure roundness and eliminate the distortion accompanying birth. Flattening was never practiced. This completed the immediate attention given the child. It was then laid on its back on a pile of bedding; occasionally it was turned from one side to the other.

The mother was given a decoction of herbs immediately after delivery to prevent excess bleeding. As soon as the after-birth (untuɬsi'ltən) was eliminated it was completely disposed of by burying. It was never burned. The mother went to bed where she remained for several hours. During this time absorbents (grass, shredded bark) were used to care for the bleeding. These were later burned. After a maximum of one day's complete rest the mother took charge of the child, but continued to lie down when not engaged in that care.

A woman occasionally went off alone into the woods and bore her child without assistance. Although such action probably often was traceable to timidity alone, ulterior motives were sometimes involved. If the woman did not want the child she was about to bear, this seclusion gave her an opportunity to return to camp with the baby dead and declare that it had been born dead. If this were not true and the facts were discovered the woman was subjected to severe lashing upon order of the chief. Nevertheless, Burke declared, such methods of controlling family size were occasionally resorted to.

A shaman was called at the time of childbirth only when delivery could not be accomplished normally. In such a case any shaman could function, for the procedure was not specialized, but certain shamans had specific talents of this nature.[1] No objective measures were taken; the shaman did not touch the patient. He attempted to discover the cause of the difficulty as in any case of illness and treat it accordingly.[2]

In the event of a miscarriage the fetus was buried immediately.

Certain post-natal observances were incumbent upon the father if the welfare of the child were to be protected. These had to be discharged very shortly after the infant's arrival. The usual procedure involved catching a dog or horse and beating it severely, or riding the horse until it was exhausted and frothed at the mouth. If neither animal were available the father himself ran until he could go no farther. If thus custom were not observed the child would cry a great deal, be irritable and have convulsions. Except at this time, however, the parent dared not kill any animal by beating it until the child was several weeks old, or the child would be ill-affected rather than benefited. If either parent threw deer sinew or feathers into a fire the baby would have cramps and convulsions, "writhing like the burning feathers or sinew."

[1] See page 102.
[2] See page 204 f.

CONCEPTS AND CONTROL OF THE NATURAL

The world was conceived as a huge stationary disc lying in a horizontal plane. The sun was likewise a disc, but moved. Both were the same size. Beyond the edges of the earth water was everywhere. Streams and rivers were the "veins of the earth." They all ran to the "big water" (ni'lxwasiuik^{u}) that surrounded the land.

The topography of the earth was not explained as a natural phenomenon. It was the result of supernatural forces in mythologic times.

All animals, as such, were mortal. They did not possess souls. When they died "they turned into dirt."

Much illness was of purely natural causation. Some of the causes were carelessness, simple accident and uncleanliness.

Old persons were wrinkled because their muscles had shriveled and their skin had stretched.

A left handed person was "made wrong by his mother. He should have been the opposite sex."

A single man was luckier at gambling than a married one because "he had no woman to sleep with."

THE WEATHER

Weather phenomena were caused by the interaction of many more or less predictable and controllable natural forces.[1] The seasons followed in inevitable sequence but not so the daily weather. The winds were caused by an ugly man with sore eyes who blew continuously. He was called sni'u'ɬ. Thunder was caused by the flying of a bird which no one had ever seen. It had no specific name; it was not called thunderbird. It was designated by the generic term, bird, in a qualifying phrase such as, "the bird that makes the thunder." Rainbows were caused by thunder.

The birth of a child caused the weather to change for two days, then change in another fashion for a second two days, after which it returned to normal. If the child were a boy the first change was called skaltumi'x^{u} xa'xa", "man's influence"; the second change, tukəlmi'lx^{u} ila'ma'skət, "woman's influence." If the child were a girl the sequence was reversed.

When a person died the weather for two days became the same as it was at the time of his birth.

The killing of a toad was followed by rain. Female toads followed men's tracks, entering their lodges and their beds. Male toads followed women. A toad

[1]Some of my readers may feel that surely a part of the material included in this and other sections of the present chapter was not on a natural, but on a supernatural level. However, I can assure them that from the native point of view all weather phenomena, all so-called omens and all medicine were natural manifestations following strictly causal sequences. The native's premise may have been wrong and his logic faulty, but the principle remains the same. Moreover, he had learned to predict much (and believed he could predict more) from observation of these sequences. Some have held this to be the cardinal criterion for science. Be that as it may, this is unquestionably representative of the science of the Sanpoil.

This is in recognition of the bondage she is under to Coyote as a payment for his gift of salmon to the people. 773 782

After she leaves the lodge she gives the salmon to an old woman, who puts it under her pillow. It is believed to have great potency. "Once when the people were starving, nine of them were saved merely by sniffing at some of this salmon."* 881 825

Lucy Joe interpreted the piling of the rocks by the girls at puberty in mythical fashion too. Coyote had ordered the rock piling, but it no longer need be done, since he had been set adrift on the ocean. 773 881

She also added that during this time the girl must run up a hill with stones under her dress, and must then loosen her girdle so as to allow these to fall out. This sets the pattern for ease in delivery which her future children will follow. 844 881

Curtis' account of these ceremonies says only that the girl at puberty had her hair bound into two rolls, and lived in a wickiup, dancing and praying to the sun on a hill at night for ten days."* Teit's account, somewhat fuller than this, mentions the washing in running water and prayer to the Day Dawn. He says also that some made circles and figures of stone near the trails at this time, which were sometimes painted. Boys took sweat baths for power, strength, and skill, and sometimes performed feats as tests. They piled rocks and sometimes made red paint pictograph records."* 881

The girl at puberty had to obey all the tabus which were required of menstruating women. Should she come near a man with power he would be harmed, and might punish her by making her menstrual flow continue indefinitely. He could check it by giving her a piece of deer liver or kidney. Women, during this period, stayed in a lodge for the purpose, a hundred yards or so away from the rest of the houses. A large village might have more than one such lodge. While accompanying men on a deer hunt, women built a menstrual lodge at the edge of the camp. The women gossiped and made articles for household use. No man was ever supposed to approach this lodge, lest his power be affected. The objects made there did not, however, share this tabu. 841 881 [343]

On a hill across the Columbia from Brewster are a group of rocks said to be Coyote's eight-section house. To one side is a small pointed hill which was the women's menstrual lodge of Coyote's group. 773 823 841

In common with the girl at puberty, the woman who was menstruating must avoid the sweat house. The sweat house symbolized 783 841

*[For footnotes, see p. 111 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

ries, those of the boy fish and meat, symbolic of the pursuits of each sex. These were not necessarily gifts of such great value as horses. They represented merely the feeling of mutual helpfulness between the two families, and the sort of support the offspring of each was going to bring to the other. When the children came of age it was expected that they would marry. 584

Betrothal and marriage were described by Billie Joe. Two friends might agree that their children should marry when they were fourteen or fifteen. (Yet he also stated that formerly girls did not marry until nineteen or twenty.) When the agreement was reached, the father who had suggested it took a present of horses to the other, in the old days a gift of hides, and immediately received a gift of equal value in exchange. The children were considered married then. When the news got about, no one would interfere with the arrangement. After the girl's first menstruation the couple could live together. There was no feast, for the Okanagon never had feasts "of any kind" until forty years ago. 584 584 585 [881] [574]

Other than by infant betrothal marriage consisted in the boy's parents taking seven to ten horses to the girl's parents and bringing her back. A year later the girl's parents returned equivalent gifts. 584

After marriage the couple always lived first with the groom's parents. They visited back and forth until they had accumulated enough to build their own home; the necessities might be given them by their parents. Women always returned home to their mothers for the birth of a child. After the first baby was born, the young couple established their own home. After marriage both the mother-in-law and the girl's mother instructed the girl how to treat a husband, and the duties of a wife in general. This training continued until the first baby arrived."[1] 585 591 [844]

There was no recognized pattern for the breaking of such a betrothal, though one of the pair might elope. Teit, too, mentions this as a possibility. It was said to have occurred but rarely, but it is difficult to evaluate such quantitative estimates. If a young couple did elope, they would be welcomed back after a short time, for "What could the parents do?" Occasionally separation might be urged, but could not be enforced without the consent of at least one of the parties. Some of the more southern informants, particularly Old Harry, stated that the chief could force a separation. This may be a modern or a Wenatchi pattern, and must be considered doubtful, though it may have been the southern practice. 583 586

If one of the parties to such an early 583

[1] [For footnote, see p. 113 (A), category 116. --Analyst]

p. 113 (B)

843 birth of every child born to a couple.

Pregnancy was recognized by the failure to menstruate. The time for the birth was computed roughly by means of a string knotted monthly (Michel said daily), nine moons being known to be its duration. It was held that the period was longer for a first child.

844 When the time for the birth approached, the woman would go to the home of her mother if that were possible. Otherwise she would call her mother, mother-in-law, aunt, or any other matron to assist her. Such was not of necessity a woman with power, nor one who had children. No man could be present, and though the birth might perforce take place out of doors, it must never happen in the dwelling house. Many cases are remembered of women who went out for the day and had their babies on route, without any particular assistance. Some preferred to have their babies alone. This was considered as particularly appropriate for such women as had for a power animal some such thing as a mother eagle with her brood, or a bitch with young. If this happened the babe was wrapped in soft fur and brought back to camp. The mother had to spend the next ten nights in the lodge, and might not come home to the house. It was said that sometimes, instead of a completely separate lodge, one of the village menstrual lodges might be used.

If the birth took place in the proper fashion, in the lodge with one or more older women assisting, the mother sat or squatted on her heels; never lying down. The floor might be spread with fir boughs, but never with blankets or robes. The woman faced the door with her back to the fire in the center of the lodge. One of the assistants stood behind and held her shoulders, and if there were another she would squat in front and hold her arms. If there were only one assistant, a digging-stick was thrust into the ground for the mother to hold to for support.

845 If the delivery proved to be difficult, the assistant pressed on the mother's abdomen. Should she cry out unduly, her mouth and nose would be plugged. The attendants would scold her, saying, "You've got to help yourself, or you will die." Should these [791] efforts fail, a shaman might be called in, who would put water on the woman's head and blow on her. This would cause the baby to come quickly. If the shaman were male he would have to leave before the baby came, for no man might be present at the time of birth, particularly no man with power, as it would hurt his power. Should the husband have any power which might be useful under the circumstances, he too might help, but would have to leave before the crucial time. If there was difficulty in presentation, there might be efforts made by the midwives to turn the baby around, but these were seldom success-

ful. No explanations were current for abnormal presentations. 845

When the baby was born, the father was notified. He shot arrows, beat a dog, forced a horse to run hard, and performed other such acts in order to assure the safety of the child. This was also accomplished by stroking it down the middle of the forehead and along the nose with a skunk hair. For ten days he refrained from hunting for the reasons given above. If the child did not cry at once, cold water was thrown upon it. If it were stillborn, it was considered to have been choked to death, and was buried at once with no ceremony. 846

Abnormalities in the birth are explained by happenings previous to it. A caul is due to the mother's having eaten eggs. If the cord is wrapped about the throat of the child, it is because a horse was choked with the tie rope. Cecile says that most difficulties now are due to the difficulty in the expulsion of the after-birth, but that this did not happen in the old days. She blames it on the modern practice of lying down for the birth. If the birth was premature, a pit was dug to receive the child and keep it warm. Otherwise this was not done. 845

The after-birth is buried by the attendant, or the mother herself if she is alone, lest an animal eat it, for in that case she would have no more children. 844

After a precautionary wait of a few minutes the umbilical cord was cut to about four inches. If cut at once, the baby would "bleed inside" and die. The stump was tied with Indian hemp and covered with a piece of thin greased buckskin, which was held in place by a buckskin band around the baby's body. This was removed daily to allow for the sloughing off of the cord. When the stump finally dropped off, it was tied into a little buckskin sack which was fastened to the cradle.

The baby was then washed in warm water, but was not greased. Then, and every time subsequently that it was unwrapped and bathed, it was given a beauty massage: its nose and penis pulled or blown on to make them long, its limbs rubbed, its face massaged, its eyes pressed open, and the roof of the mouth pressed up. No reason was assigned for this. Suszen stated that a new-born child was immediately dipped in water "because God created the land from water." 846 854

It was suckled with the very first milk, none being thrown away. (Cecile stated, however, that the mother first waited over night.) Should the mother be unable to nurse her child, it was given to a wet nurse, who would have to be paid for her services, even if she were a close relative. The child was returned to its mother when it was wean- 853

845 nection of twins with the weather, with salmon, or with grizzly bears.

821 There was believed to be a connection between parturition and the weather. When a person died the weather of his birthday was supposed to occur again. The weather at the
● 844 birth was connected with the character of the mother. If a cold wind storm blew, it was said that the mother was cranky, mean, and could not get along with someone. On the other hand, warm, fine weather was interpreted as meaning the mother was kind and agreeable. Again, it was said of a child born in bad weather that its mother must have a "good behind" (buttocks or genitals?), nxEcó´ps; of one born in good weather, that its mother must have a "bad behind," nqEcó´ps.

846 About ten days after the birth (some informants say more time was necessary) the mother left the lodge. She took a sweat bath one evening, another on the next, and was then ready to return to the dwelling house. Then she cooked and all the people came to a little feast she prepared. All the old people blessed her child.

854 Newborn Sinkaietk infants were carried in cradles with the board covered by a sack, and which had neither shade bow nor tump line. They were constructed before the child was born. These were carried horizontally, or nearly so. When the child was a few months old this was changed, without ceremony, for a board with a sack attached to it, in which the baby was wrapped. This would be carried on the mother's back, or suspended from the pommel of her saddle.[21]

During the day the baby now spent its entire time strapped in the cradle. This was carried on the mother's back by a tump line which was shifted from her forehead to breast as she wearied of one position or the other. When she wished to be free of the burden, she hung the cradle from a low bough out of reach of snakes on the ground. During the day a hammock might be used for the baby This was a long piece of skin slung between two trees. It was kept swinging by some small child so that the mother could go about her work.

There were characteristic ways of rocking a cradle: on the mother's back, or lying on her extended palms while her arms were crossed under it, or lying on the thighs as the woman sat with legs extended straight before her.

At night the baby was wrapped in the same fashion, but instead of being placed in a board cradle, it was put into a sack of soft coyote skin, fur side in. This was used summer and winter, as long as the baby was still carried on the cradle board. The sack was merely a roughly rectangular piece of skin the edges of which met in front,

21 For descriptions of the several types of cradles, see Material Culture.

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

276 mented to a considerable extent with incised designs, painting and wrappings of quills. The tobacco used was wild tobacco procured from the neighboring tribes. Kinnikinnick, consisting of bearberry leaves and red willow bark, was mixed with tobacco in smoking by most people but not by all.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

843 844 TWINS.—I did not receive full information regarding birth and childhood. Old women acted as midwives. Some women, for a short time before childbirth, lived in the menstrual lodge. There were probably some restrictions on pregnant women long ago, especially as to what they should eat and touch; but it seems that after the tribe began to hunt buffalo most of the old customs gradually broke 845 down and little is now known about them. My informants claimed that they had never heard of any twin ceremonies in the tribes, or of any beliefs that twins were connected by dreams of the mother with bear or deer, or that twins had any particular guardian spirits or powers.[287] Neither were the parents of twins compelled to live apart from the people. Some people considered a family lucky that had [777] twins; or thought twins lucky, and that was all. The Coeur d'Alêne name for "twins" is derived from the numeral "two." It is thought that twins were less frequent among the Coeur d'Alêne than among other tribes, although there is one notable case on record of a woman who had first girl twins, then boy twins, and then girl twins again, and no other children before or after.

854 CARRIERS OR CRADLES.—Infants were put in a bark carrier. Most of these were made of birch bark. In shape they were like the Thompson birch-bark carrier,[288] only much higher at the head. The depth of the carrier at the head rendered the use of hoops for holding up the cradle cover unnecessary, and none were used. Bedding consisted of fine rotten wood (like sawdust), which was gathered, dried, and worked up fine. This was renewed as often as required. A piece of soft fur was put under the baby's head, shoulders, and back. A soft robe of fur formed the covering, and the baby was strapped in by flaps with lacing, which passed over the covering. An outside covering placed loosely over the carrier was used when abroad to protect the infant from wind and weather. When the baby was from two to three months old the bark carrier was discarded and replaced by a cradle board. These, at least for many years back, have been all of the same type as those used by the Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé.[289] About one-third of the board was beaded and extended above the infant's head. In earlier times

[287] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 310, 311; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 586, 587; Lillooet, *k*, p. 263.
[288] *a*, p. 306, fig. 280.
[289] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 225, 226.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

527 from time to time. Singing and dancing were indulged in at nearly all entertainments and gatherings.

534 MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.—Drums used to beat time for singing and dancing were exactly like those of the Thompson. Rattles were also used in singing and dancing. They consisted of pebbles inclosed in wood, horn, or hide. Deer-hoof rattles attached to the ankles, knees, waist, elbows, and wrists were used. Others were attached to the end of a short stick. Beating of sticks on a hide or a board was also common in some kinds of dancing and singing. Rasps of notched sticks were also in vogue. In a few dances, such as the praying dance, there was no accompaniment to the singing. Flutes and whistles of several kinds were in use for serenading, but they were not used at dances.

276 PIPES AND SMOKING.—Smoking was indulged in by nearly all the adult men and by some of the women. Ceremonial smoking was practiced, especially at the beginning of serious undertakings, such as councils. Long ago the tubular pipe was in use. Some of these had figures of animals carved along the top and others were carved like an animal's mouth.[8] The simple bowl pipe was also in use, and the elbow pipe, which in later days supplanted all others. A disk-shaped stone pipe [9] was fairly common among the Okanagon, but I have not heard of its use among the Thompson. It may have been introduced from the south. Pipes were sometimes made of knots of wood. The tobacco smoked was the same kind as that used by the Thompson, and the kinnikinnick was also the same. It is said that a kind of clay pipe was sometimes made long ago.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

843 PREGNANCY.—Numerous restrictions were put on a pregnant woman, especially during her first pregnancy. The object was to insure health and strength to the woman and her child, an easy delivery, and safety from supernatural harm for both mother and child. Pregnancy, especially the first time, was considered "mystery" in almost the same degree as adolescence and menstruation. The restrictions were almost the same as among the Thompson. The most important during the first pregnancy were the following: The woman had to wash and bathe regularly in cold water. She prayed to the Day Dawn. She had to avoid all bad smells, quarreling, agitation, and anything that might surprise or shock her. She must not eat any flesh of large game, but only that of birds and fish. She must not eat turtle. All flesh that she ate must be at least a day old. Her husband had to bathe often and to pray and purify in the sweat house.

844 BIRTH.—Women at childbirth were attended by an older woman, generally the mother, aunt, or grandmother, sometimes by more than

[8] See g, fig. 113; Field Mus. 111743.
[9] See i, figs. 107-109.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

one. The afterbirth was treated in the same way as among the Thompson.[1] 844

TWINS.—Restrictions regarding twins were not as strict as among the Thompson. They resembled more those of the Shuswap. Many families had no special observances for twins. Some of the Similkameen who had twins lived apart from other people, and went through all the "twin" ceremonies customary among the Thompson.[2] 845

CARRIERS.—The board carrier and the carrying bag were universally used. Board carriers were of the same general types as those of the Thompson. Some boards were low or short, not much, if any, longer than the height of the infant; while some others were high, from about a quarter to a third of the board being above the child's head. Board carriers were of three general shapes at the head. One kind was rounded;[3] a second kind had an angular top;[4] and the third kind had an extension above the top, sometimes called a "head," from 15 to 30 cm. high, which served as a handle. This projection was carved in different shapes, round forms predominating.[5] Board carriers with square or almost square tops are said to have been common only among the Lake tribe. The bags attached to the boards were of dressed skin, and of the same styles as those used by the Thompson. The most common kind was loose except at the shoulders or head, where it was fastened to the board. The lacing was not in the bag itself, but consisted of a wide strap passing through loops in the side of the board.[6] Carriers with a narrow headboard projecting outward from near the head of the backboard were common except among the Lake, who, it seems, did not use this style. Hoops on board carriers were universal, at least during the last three or four generations. As a rule, the hoop was separate from the bag and was adjusted with strings, as among the Thompson. Most Thompson carriers had two strings stretching from the top of the board to the hoop around which they were twisted, the opposite ends being fastened near the foot of the carrier. By manipulation of these strings the hoop was lowered or raised as required. An old style, sometimes used by Okanagon and Lake, had the hood or upper part of the bag stitched to the hoop, doing away with the necessity of head strings, foot strings only being required. (Fig. 19.) The Lake tribe say that long ago some of their carriers had low hoops to which the hood of the bag was stitched or fastened, other carriers had very high hoops unattached to the hood, and some carriers had no hoops at all. Boards with handholes at the sides were in use, and in later times this kind almost entirely superseded those with handles at the top. They are said to be more convenient for lifting and carrying. Babies were wrapped 854

[1] a, p. 304.
[2] a, pp. 310, 311.
[3] See Thompson, a, fig. 281; Shuswap, c, fig. 251 a.
[4] See Shuswap, c, fig. 251 b, d.
[5] See Thompson, a, fig. 281 b.
[6] See Thompson, a, fig. 281.